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796 for a period in which offences are to be connived at, as there is bound to be a good deal of drunkenness.

[782] On the conclusion of the preliminary *puja* at about ten a.m., the rice, fowls and rice-beer already collected, are offered to *Maran Buru* and other deities.

[793] Thereafter, these are cooked together by the villagers, while the *Naeke* (priest) prepares a separate dish with the heads of the fowls (because he is a pure and chaste person). Now, offering the dishes again to the gods like *Maran Buru*, the *Naeke* leads the community feast and is followed by the tribe.

796 231 Towards evening the cattle of the tribe are brought to the *Goth* and their horns rubbed with oil. They are then let loose near the spot where the tribe has eaten, and the man whose cow chances to eat the *sal*-leaf plate used by the *Naeke* (priest) is considered to be a very lucky one and endowed with the privilege of supplying a pot of *bàndia* (rice-beer) for the next year's festival. He becomes the hero of the tribe, to be blest with good cattle and harvest, and is raised over the head and shown to the assembly. Eggs are also placed on *sal*-leaves; but cows are not made to walk upon them, as we saw in the Santal Parganas.

796 [533] [831] [786] [685] The nocturnal vigil at Mayurbhanj is practically the same as that during the night of *Gobal Puja*, the same songs are sung, but they add many of an erotic nature. But fruits and vegetables as gourds

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of Kanva while bidding farewell to his foster daughter, Sakuntala. 585 533 539

Hòpòn hòpòn gidrà kuṛi
Sitoñ lòlò din repe, idiekantiñ,
Eho chandoboñga!
Jhipir jhipir dagme, purbarimil hoeme,
Rearayliñgmcho Cando boñga!

(Translation)

My daughter is very young,
You are taking her when the day is hot.
O God, let it rain in drops,
Let the eastern wind blow and make cool (the journey).

Songs of love

As is only natural, a good deal of Santal folk-songs deal with the eternal reaction on men and women regarding matters of the human heart. In the following song, a man thus speaks of his love for a lame girl:— 533 831 [539]

Bururе siñarak' legec' legec' siñarak,'
Jibòn calak' rehoiñ sidgeya,
Natore kuṛi konrse kaṭa kuṛi'
Hiròm cetan rehoiñ agueya.

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1. "Kònrse Kata" is explained in Dr. Campbell's Dictionary as "Side-ways." Many Santals in Mayurbhanj say it means a flower. In that view it will mean as beautiful as a 'Kònrse Kata' flower. [114] [192]

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(Translation)

Siñ leaves are soft and sway on the hill;
My life may go, but I must pluck them.
There is a maid in the village, she limps as she moves.
Though I have a wife, I must marry her.

The above has its exact counter-part wherein a woman sings of her love for a lame youth in exactly the same language with only slight variations:—

Bururе siñarak' legec' legec' siñarak,'
Jibòn calak' rehoiñ sidgeya
Natore koṛa konṛse kata koṛa
Hiròm cetan rehoiñ bòloygeya.

(Translation)

Siñ leaves are soft and sway on the hill;
My life may go, but I must pluck them.
There is a youth in the village, he limps as he moves.
Though he has a wife, I must have his love (even as a co-wife).

A second song refers to the dilemma a girl is placed into on seeing her lover at a distance:—

Gaten triyòy nòròñ buruma cetanre
Niñma dak'iñ lòlò jojo jharnare
Thiliñ bàgirema hoṛkoròiòra
Noṛakiñ ruàṛrema gateñ khinsok'a

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Hòṛko tòròrbacha iñ sahaokeya
Gateñ kahis dòre bañgiñ sahaoke.

(Translation)

My lover is playing on his pipe on a hill;
I am gathering water from *Jaja*-spring.
If I go to my lover, leaving my pitcher here,
People will criticise me.
If I return home, my lover will be pained.
I can stand what men may say (gladly enough)
But I can never bear the pain in my lover's heart.

The next song presumably refers to a new attachment formed by a youth. Here the former sweet-heart of a girl is being addressed by her to get rid of his infatuation:—

Sedae sedae dò gate lañ tahènkan,
Sedae leka ror landa rorem ñamkan,
Ne kaira sakam re maya redme,
Ne natu got' kam jònòm jònòm.

(Translation)

The friend sings:—

At first we were friends,
(Now) should you want the same smiles and talk,
Wrap the love in a plantain leaf
And let it drift in the current.

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831 533 539 The following song illustrates the truth that love does not distinguish between the high and the low:—

Namdò kisàṛ hòpòn nindòrengec,
Hòpòn ceka leka tem bulau
Kidiñ nalo sarim rag, sari nalo
Sarim hòmòra, bana horge conlan conlan soman geya

(Translation)

Girl:—

You are a rich man's son,
I am a poor man's daughter.
How could you charm me so?

Boy:—

Really, do not weep,
Don't feel wounded (my dear),
We both equal are.

Another verse describes the dawn of love in the heart of a man for his elder brother's wife, such marriages (*Dhâuilà sagai*), being permissible under Santal customary law:—

Candoc rakap' kan piric' piric';
Cabaganlañ boloyena,
Ghanem hili yan ghanem mela wañ;
Sati sakam do sakhi menay.

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(Translation)

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With the radiance of the sun-rise, we are entering the tea-garden.
Now you are addressing me as elder brother's wife, then as something else;
But *sati* leaves are witnesses.

Here is a girl being questioned by her father as to where she had been so long:—

Yaminlòlo biṭi numin seton tokare,
Do biṭim tahèṅkana gaḍa rana kap'
Ròdò numul jiwir juḍásin duṛup' akan.

(Translation)

Father:—In this sun and heat so strong, where were you my child?
Daughter:—I was peacefully resting in the coolness on the way up the river.

Here is a love-song describing presumably a courtship:—

Dare numul ho tarasiñnenae sakam,
Binḍàhòṅ rahoṛena mense sariho,
Nañcardo naṛag me norok'ren hoṛko baḍae ket'lan.

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(Translation)

831 533 539 The girl sings:—

The shade of the tree has changed to afternoon.
The sheaves of leaves have withered too.
In sooth I say, leave the skirt of my *sari*,
The inmates of the house have come to know of it.

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Love of Flowers and Birds

Nature with her wealth of beauties appeals very strongly to all primitive people and naturally enough, we find a large number of Santal folk-songs dealing with the flowers and leaves. Here is a Santal maiden enamoured of *natal* flowers which she will pluck at all costs and wear in her hair:—

Bururе *natal* baha
Dolop' dolop' *natal* baha
Janhan lekatchoniñ tiok'geya
Hòriñ chipirehon sut'do kòcerehon
Janhanlikarehoñ bahae geya.

(Translation)

On the hills are *natal* flowers,
The (luxuriant) *natal* flowers are dancing (in the wind).
I must pluck them by any means.
Although I am not so beautiful,

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So they dance on and on in a non-stop manner and may not finish before two days. 535

This dance may also take place as a mark of joy when volunteers help a Santal farmer who has no helping hand to aid him in his agriculture. According to custom, such help is always extended, and the farmer entertains the co-villagers at a thanksgiving party when "Dòn" is danced after a liberal drink of rice-beer. 535 241 476 527

One who studies the "Dòn" dances cannot but be struck by the fact that the suggestive hip and body movements, special to the dance, can have only one meaning viz. recreating in artistic forms the human urge to procreation. The very object of the dance, associated as it is with marriage ceremonies, was stated by an old Santal to be a form of magic, where the married pair might unite in love and affection and get children so that the Santals might increase in number. 535 831 [832]

Jhikà ènèc'

"Jhikà" is the closing item in a dance programme, just following "Dòn". After a "Jhikà," the dance closes automatically. 535

Here men and women form a circle, but they do not entwine the hands. The musicians, as before, form an inner circle. The dancers take two

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left, as they advance forwards. But when the circles swing backwards, it is with a brisk picturesque

Danta Musicians

movement that they do so. Thus they dance from early morning till mid-day, without any girls as dancing partners.

"Danta" is no independent dance, but is indulged in as a relaxation. Women do not join these dances, as they cannot skip sufficiently as the steps require, and more specially because the songs that accompany the dances are frequently too amorous. Many of these refer to women and a very decent one purports as follows:—

Some boys go to a tank; they catch fish, roast and divide. While they eat the fish thus roasted, they give all the bones to women.

Mention should be made of some special steps of the *Danta* and their probable significance. It is noteworthy that when the dancers in both rows

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APPENDIX I

SEX LIFE OF THE SANTAL

121 In course of the previous chapters, we have given the readers an idea of the Santal's life in general. We feel, however, that to probe deeply into the instinctive principles that govern the life of the tribe, we should deal with their sex-life in some detail. Rev. Verrier Elwin in his "The Baiga" and Dr. Firth in his account of the Tikopia have given admirable glimpses of this side of the tribes they have reviewed and knowing well how in these days, anthropologists like to get acquainted with the sprouting and development of the sex-instinct, with the scientist's belief that "where the sex is impure there are no flowers in nature," we take courage in both hands to place before the reader the results of our investigations amongst the Mayurbhanj Santals on the subject.

The dawn of the instinct

831 842 [176] "Children are equipped with a complete phallic knowledge by Cando Bonga (Supreme Deity). It is ordained by him as to whether a man will have progeny or not; so we find some men are denied children, although they mate like others" said an old Santal to us. They want children; they like children. Overpopulation, a dismal apprehension

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to the educated middle-class, does not act as a night-mare to their primitive minds. How the sex-life children are born into, conduces to the benefit of the tribe taken as a whole, can easily be judged from the rough account that follows. 831 [842]

Santal children, as may be easily imagined from their humble economic life, sleep with their parents. The more affluent of the house-holders sleep on a *khatia* with their wives. The children sleep nearby. One may wonder how the short space of a *khatia* (width about two cubits) permits such a sleep for two adults, but the answer is, the husband and wife do thus sleep. The minimum age for children for thus sleeping near their parents was given as 12, while the maximum was fixed at 16. 864 513

The people being poor, the accommodation for sleeping is extremely limited. Knowing how even western sex-psychologists have asserted that there are few children who have not witnessed their parents copulating, we have every reason to believe that Santal children have ample opportunities of watching the primal scene in their parental bed. It is not a matter for surprise that the sex-instinct sprouts very early in children; of course the first manifestations are unconscious.

We have evidence at our disposal which shows that in a childrens' play named "Sakam bàhu jamai" (Bride and bride-groom of leaves), marriages are 864 857

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Whatever that may be, a sane admonition is now given to the erring by sensible parents and we understand that even married men are reproached by their parents or superiors if they indulge in adultery.

Santal women, in sexual matters, are the passive type found in the sex in general. If the term 'masochistic' can be applied to such a nature, they are undoubtedly so. We enquired to find out cases of women possessing a sadistic nature and gathered that instances of women beating men for economic reasons or domestic infidelity are not at all rare. But the witnesses stoutly maintained that such cases had nothing to do with the infliction of pain for the joy of it, and women as a sex do never take the lead in coitus or mastery in cohabitation.

But in married-life, should the husband be sexually unsatisfactory and fail habitually to satisfy the cravings of his wife for intercourse, the wife unfailingly sues for divorce and changes the husband for a more capable one. As one Santal puts it, "Failure to satisfy the sexual passion is the primary reason for divorces. Women can stand starvation in food as she can work and earn it, but if the husband fails to be a satisfactory partner in mating, she will leave him immediately."

The place of sex in the tribal life

Any one visiting a Santal rally at a dance or a festival, we dare say, will be struck with the

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83 | spontaneous freedom of the sex-life of the tribe. Call it love, amour, whatever you choose, there is something elemental in the sexual atmosphere, where courtship goes on as the dance proceeds and down to the supreme consummation, one can look at things without any moral nausea we associate with sex in civilised societies.

An abundant warmth, fearless and beautiful, is the characteristic sign of the love-life of Santals. It continues to be so till children are born. But gradually, economic problems affect the joy. With sadness in their eyes, married adults have told us how the mystery of their sex-life had vanished with the birth of children. The curve of joy gradually declines as age advances and we were told that men of 40 and 45 come to hate sexual intercourse as a dull business.

We asked the Santals as to which of the instincts, eating or mating, was uppermost to them. One said, "Both are of primary importance, none could take the first place." Aged Santals replied with a tremor in the voice, "We consider the sex-instinct to be secondary, because, without food, the mere possession of a beautiful woman is useless. Without blood from the food, how can we procreate?"

Whatever might be the condition of things in the past, it cannot any more be said that erotic

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interests engross the entire attention of the Santals as a tribe. It is vitally linked up with the economic problem, and when there is a bumper crop and the flowers are full of honey, drinking, dancing and mating flow free with the abanbon characteristic of the tribe. 831

The Santal, even today, is a most prolific race. They cannot at all imagine how a normal man or woman can remain unmarried. We have already seen how the bachelor is looked upon as a pitiable thing by the tribe. If there is such a person nearabout, all Santals try to see him married. Often men and women of the sexually frigid type fall to matrimony, as otherwise, they would be considered as "maica" (hermaphrodite). Similarly, unmarried widows are encouraged to marry and should they stick to a single life, their joking relations make her a butt of ridicule. Even the most Hinduised of the Santals opined that widows without children should marry as soon as possible. So, bachelors are very rare amongst the Santals. An educated Santal told us that he has seen only two such, aged 40/45, in his village. They are the sports of the village. He has not seen an old maid. A Sirdar told us that the only confirmed bachelor in his area wears the dress of a woman (certainly a hermaphrodite.) He has never, in his experience, seen a Santal old maid. An old Santal said that he 581 589 [838]

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152 832 youth who proposes a mating and is refused does not mind it seriously. It seems that another successful intrigue would cure the temporary disappointment. But should the boy who proposes, be in real love with the girl, he feels shocked and many such cases end in tragedies. One such concrete case was mentioned to us by some old Santals as having occurred at Jorku, Baripada, where a lad in love with [1962] a married girl asked her to leave the village. She having refused, the boy committed suicide by hanging. 831 We closely questioned educated Santals to find out experiences of a deeper character. But all that we gathered was that ties of the heart apparently very deep, slacken with time and life-long devotion to the lover or beloved, should the lovers be compelled to marry others, is rarely to be found. 831 588 An educated Santal told us a story of a love-affair between two prohibited clans viz. Tuḍus and Besras. He said that his cousin (a Tuḍu) married a Besra girl because he was in love, not minding the antagonism of the society. The lover declared that he would defy death for the sake of the girl. But the romance was shortlived. The girl did not live long. She died and the customary belief that such marriages are unlucky, had its triumph.

831 Whatever that may be, we consider it almost a reflection upon human nature that there are no

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experiences of a deeper character amongst the Santals in affairs of the heart and no better illustration than the following folk-song could be found in support of our contention. In this song, a sister-in-law is explaining the nature of love to her husband's younger brother:

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Koṛa: Pirit, pirit, pirit, hili ho,
Pirit do hili ho, láiñ mase ho.

Kuṛi: Pirit do babu ja bange bugiya
Jaha tinrem uihar lekhan.
Uihar lekhan gedò mènt' dak' jòròa.
Harta akat daka babu ja,
Daka babu ja bange jòmòk'
Jaṛha tin rem uihar lekhan laṛa
Akan ub babu ja bange suduk' do
Ahai akat thili babu ja bange dipilò.
Pirit do babu ja, bange bugiya.

(Translated)

Boy: Love, love, love, O sister-in-law!
What is the meaning of the word? Do tell me.

Girl: Love is not a good thing.
When one thinks and thinks of love,
The eyes shed tears and tears.
Before one is food, O boy,
But he finds no relish for meals.

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When I remember (him), I cannot tie up the loose knot of my hair,
The knot is loose, I cannot bind it.
I fill up the pitcher and place it on my thigh,
But I feel no inclination to put it on my head,
O Love, my dear boy, is not a good thing at all.

583 533 539 A second song refers to a lad and a lass who cannot marry, as their parents like the Capulets and the Montagues were in enmity. They are out to leave their village for an unknown destination in the rainy season and come across a river in full-flood. The girl sings:

Cet baisakh neṇḍa babu ja,
Asar san japut' relañ noṛòk akan do
Làuṛiàdo cet lañemaya?

The boy replies:

Nam reañ rupa sankha, iñ reak' ṭòḍòr
Làuṛiàdo lañemaya, enrchò bidesh telañ òḍoñ calak'ge.

(Translated)

Girl: We appointed a time (for elopement) in Cet or Baisakh,
During Asar and Sravan rains we two have come out.
What fare shall we pay to the ferry-man?

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833 sitting position; and the process, lip to lip, breast to breast in "passion's golden purity" is not known to the Santal.

As regards the preliminaries to the final coition prevailing amongst the Santals, we have mentioned that they scratch, bite and kiss. But these are done, according to the Santal, so as not to inflict pain. We enquired whether they avoid kissing the lips owing to the foul smell coming out of mouths. But [515] we gathered that the Santals are very clean as to their dental hygiene; for, from their fifth year upwards they make it a point to brush their teeth with *neem* or *sal* tooth-sticks. So foul-mouth is not a factor. Moreover, the very position adopted in coitus does not permit of kissing the lips. The [533] folk-songs are silent as to such kisses to our knowledge.

• 831 The Santal discusses sexual matters including coition quite normally and naturally. During our investigations we found men, old, adult and young, answering our questions without any embarrassment and while talking about these things themselves, they evinced as much of detachment as if they were talking about the weather. But there are certain 831 exceptions. There are grades of relationship with 602 whom Santals cannot have sexual talks, *viz.*, Marań Baba (Father's elder brother), Mama (maternal uncle), father's and mother's sister. The permissible

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grades include friends, sister's husband, grand-father and elder brother's wife. 831 [602]

From the above, it will be clear that sex and sin have not become interchangeable words to the Santal as we find in civilization. The refinements of sex, being the other name for perversions, are as much unknown to the Santal as cunning and craft. In coition, all that our enquiries revealed was that the various postures adopted by civilized societies are not known to them, as possible or natural. One educated Santal told us that he knew a case in which a man confessed that he cohabited with a girl during the rains, and as no other position was possible, they adopted the averse position of a goat. When the story was narrated, people laughed heartily. On our question as to what would be the effect of the story on women-listeners, he said that they also would have thought it funny, because it is so unnatural. 833 833 522

Although there was considerable discrepancy as to the number of times the Santals indulge in coitus, five times a day can be put as the maximum. But this is before the birth of children. When the parties get children, they cohabit once or twice a day and there may be gaps of a day. When three or four children are born three or four days may be omitted. But as stated before, on the average, they copulate twice daily, and the minimum may be 833

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and legends of Hinduism. The linguistic evidence shows how their material culture has been vitally affected and has some bearing on the more elusive realm of thought and belief. The grammatical structure of Santali has little in common with that of the Indo-Aryan tongues. It is an agglutinative and not an inflectional language. There have, however, been large and extensive borrowings of words. An instructive example can be taken from their method of husking rice. The term *ḍhinki*, used for a foot-pedal rice husker, has been borrowed from Bengali, and a *ḍhinki* is found in almost every home. The rice that is husked at the time of making sacrifices must be prepared in the home of the village priest, and in its preparation the use of the older and more primitive *ukhuṛ* is obligatory. This is a wooden mortar in which the rice is husked by hand with a wooden pestle, or *tok*. Both these words are Austro-Asiatic in origin. It is likely that when the household adopted the new method of husking rice the tribe did not change over from the old method of husking the sacred rice for fear of a loss in efficacy. One reason given is that as the *ḍhinki* is operated by the foot, rice husked in the *ḍhinki* is unclean and so unfit for offering to the spirits. It may be that the association of a mortar and pestle with sexual symbolism enhanced its magical value. The symbolism in this case is familiar to the Santal mind, for one way of expressing differences of sex is to refer to boys as "pestles" and to girls as "mortars". The *ukhuṛ* has to be used by the medicine man in preparing remedies; it is also used at marriages, when the feet of the bridegroom's party are washed over an *ukhuṛ*, and an *ukhuṛ* filled with water is required during the death ceremonies. In Bengal the rice which forms the daily food of the people is boiled before husking, and the Santals follow the same method in preparing it; but the rice used in sacrifices, *aḍwa caole*, is never so treated, being dried in the sun.

Among their domestic animals, the fowl, the dog and the goat have non-Bengali names, while the names for pigeons, sheep, pigs and, most important of all, their cattle are borrowed. Fowls, goats and pigs are all used in their sacrifices. In the realm of wild life the Santal has found little need to borrow a vocabulary from his neighbours. Wild animals, birds, trees and shrubs, many fish and insects, also snakes, have Santali names. The same is true of most of the weapons used in hunting. Although the term for paddy is Santal, the names of all the implements now used in rice cultivation and the terms for the

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over a wide field, involving inheritance, marriages and instances of indiscipline. Members are allowed to appeal against decisions made in village councils. Punishments inflicted range from outcasting to fines, and crude punishments are sometimes exacted on the spot, as in a case of a youth who had transgressed the rules of behaviour towards a woman relative with whom he was not in a joking relationship. He was compelled to drag his nose along a line of urine provided by the village headman whose authority had been flouted. The hearing of cases continues till the small hours of the morning and the discussions appear interminable, with accusation and counter-accusation, the calling of witnesses and references to tribal law and custom. It is, however, one of the great educating and cementing institutions in the life of the tribe. It is known to them by the name of "high court", a name that has been naturalized in most Indian languages. It is also called the *sendra dupup'*, the hunt sitting, and the *lo bir dupup'*, the burnt forest sitting, the latter name being due to the fact that the hunt takes place when the undergrowth in the forest has been burnt to help the fertilizing of the soil.

Meanwhile, when the evening meal is over the young men gather in another part of the clearing and spend the night in revelry. There is much strong liquor in evidence. In some cases the place of meeting has become the site of a government liquor shop. The dances, of a class known as *doiger*, are men's dances, and the songs, known as *bir*, or forest songs, are men's songs. They are frankly coarse and deal largely with the physical aspects of love, courtship and lust. Many of the songs that are sung on this night are never sung by the Santals in any mixed company, or, indeed, at any other time, a fact that indicates among them a standard of delicacy in sexual behaviour which certain modern schools of thought appear at times to deny to primitive people.

Towards morning some of the folk, young and old, rest for an hour or two of much-needed sleep, but when the sun has risen they take some breakfast and begin to disperse. They make their way to their own villages, hunting as they go; but on this second day the proceedings are apt to be unexciting, for they do not find much to kill. By late afternoon the men are home again with their spoils, and when these have been divided they work off their fatigue in sleep.

The supposed monotony of the struggle for a livelihood is broken by so many devices of nature and of man that it is

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CHAPTER 4

DANCING, MUSIC AND POETRY

THE word *raṣka*, meaning "pleasure", is often on the lips of the Santals, and it is dear to their hearts. They turn from their difficulties and sorrows to find solace in one or other of the many ways in which they can experience *raṣka*. Among these dancing is one of the most important. Their word for dancing is the same as that used for the play of children—*cuec'*—and dancing is indeed the play of the tribe. In every village there is a dancing floor, an open space that is well cared for. At festival times it is swept and freshly plastered with cowdung by young unmarried girls, and when it is not in use for dancing it is the place where the young men gather in the evenings to discuss their affairs and interests.

Some of the dances are connected with particular festivals, and they are performed only at those times or during the whole of the month in which the festival takes place. There are other dances that are suitable at any time during the year. Some are dances for women alone and others for men alone, while in a few both men and women dance. The chief element of variety is introduced by means of varying the rhythm; to the casual observer most of the dances look the same. A group of men or of women dance together, forming a line with their arms linked, stepping sideways or forward and then backward, keeping time to the beating accompaniment of the drums, moving either in a circle or from one side of the dancing-floor to the other, and from time to time breaking out into song. Whenever there is an occasion for rejoicing there will be dancing. It is much in evidence during the celebrations and ceremonies after the birth of a child or at his fuller reception into the tribe, and again during marriage festivities. The general type of dance on all these occasions is known as *doṇ*, which has within it many variations. At these times it is the women who do the dancing, while the men furnish an accompaniment with drums and flutes, and many of the songs refer directly to the purpose for which the folk have gathered together. During marriage ceremonies the *bapla*, or type of dance specifically associated with marriages, is also in evidence. The *doñger* is the dance of the men on the night of the annual hunt. It is a wild type of dance, when there is much leaping in the air. Two of the young men stripped of clothing dance about in front of the lines, and the

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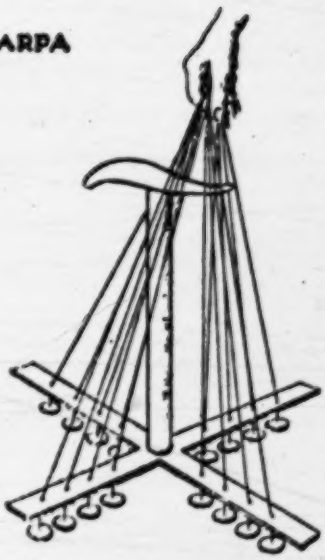

dances are preceded and ended by the shouting of obscene words. The Spring and the Harvest festivals possess their own cycle of songs and dances. During the latter the women make use of a musical instrument known as the *sarpa*, which is brought out only at this time. It is a percussion instrument that consists of a vertical pole about fifteen inches high fixed into two crossed horizontal pieces of wood. Holes are bored in the foot-long horizontal pieces, and through these holes pass lengths of string to the end of which are attached small circular wooden clappers. With the handle at the top of the vertical pole in the left hand and the upper end of the strings held in the right hand, the clappers can be drawn up sharply against the wooden bars, so producing a ringing sound. The workmanship of the *sarpas* varies; some are plain, while others display a handle carved in the shape of a dove and geometrical designs on the horizontal bars. The dancers form two lines; the older women [535] form a line in front and sing and dance with their arms linked. Behind them comes a line of younger women, some of them beating the *sarpas*, some with small brass cymbals, while the two women at the ends of the line wave the end of their *saris* to fan the others.

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The *buaṅ*[1] is a musical instrument associated particularly with the month that precedes that in which the Harvest festival is celebrated. This is the month known as *Dāsāĕ*, from the Hindi word *dasserah*. The *buaṅ* belongs to a type of musical instrument with a wide distribution in different parts of the world. Its prototype existed when men first plucked the strings of their bows in order to hear a pleasing sound. To the arc of the bow a large hollow gourd is attached, and this adds resonance to the sound of the plucked bow string. The gourd is

[1] See illustration opposite.

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decorated with paper streamers. One of the songs sung to the accompaniment of the *buań* is in honour of the instrument itself and recounts the birth and growth of the gourd on the manure heap. Some of the dances enact hunting scenes and fights with bow and arrow.

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During weddings and festivals the dancing takes place at night as well as in the daytime. Drink is plentiful, and the dance goes on until the moon is setting and the first light of morning appears in the sky. At these times dancing is associated with romance as well as with illicit flirtations and unions; amid the general rejoicing it is easy for couples to slip away unnoticed. Dancing, however, is not by any means confined to the more formal and set occasions. During the hot season in particular there is an almost nightly gathering in some part of the village, when the younger members of the community dance together. At these times the *lagre*, a simple dance, is much used. Of this there are many variations, and different varieties appear to be popular in different localities. One of the most popular in the area is a variety of *lagre* known as *porob*, which appears to be unknown elsewhere. These dances are suitable for any occasion.[1]

Santal music is largely but not entirely associated with dancing. The Santals are a musical people and find in music an outlet for the emotional and imaginative sides of their nature. From an early age boys begin to play on a whistle, the high and plaintive notes of which can be heard coming from the fields and woods as the boys tend the herds. Later most of them become proficient in playing the flute. The name *tirio* is used to denote different kinds of flute as well as the boys' whistle. Flutes contain six holes, and the usual type is the true flute that is held to one side—the instrument associated with Krishna in Hindu mythology. Some are beautifully made. One man playing at Sarenga during the Lakshmi Puja had a beautiful specimen; at the higher end there was a brass figure of Krishna playing the flute, while at the other end there was mounted a brass dove. Another type is shaped like an inverted T, the air being blown into the base of the T, while the arms,

[1] Bodding's *Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 331, lists thirty-one dances.

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